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residence but also by consanguinity, as is, in fact, usually specifically recognized. Within such a group the only social structuring is commonly into families, which may be of either nuclear, polygamous, or extended type. Except for family ties, the strongest sense of identification is usually with the community as a whole, which is viewed as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities in a manner quite comparable to the attitude toward one's own sib in a unilinear society.

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Murdock believes that the Washo may have had demes (1949, p. 63). This would be important to know, since demes are thought to exert an influence on kinship terminology. They are associated with kinship terminology of the generation type in ego's generation only (Murdock, 1949, pp. 158-161). I endeavored to discover whether the Washo had had demes and could find no evidence of their former existence. Murdock may have based his opinion on a sentence in Barrett: "The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all others" (1917, p. 8). From the context, I interpret this to mean only that each village was politically independent. The principal feature of the deme, the fact that it is an endogamous community viewed by its members "as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities," was apparently lacking among the Washo. Lowie's description of a Washo village would deny the existence of demes. His informant said that the neighbors who lived about thirty feet away were not kin (1939, p. 303). Demes clearly do not exist among the Washo today.

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The kindred is the commonest type of bilateral kinship group. In our society, it includes that group of near relatives who are expected to attend weddings, funerals, graduations, holiday dinners, and family reunions. Members of kindreds visit freely and support one another when they are in difficulty. Kindreds in other societies have comparable characteristics and functions (Murdock, 1949, pp. 56-57).

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The Washo do not appear to have groups of relatives which satisfy these criteria. Curing ceremonies, the girl's puberty dance, and funerals are attended by all interested Washo; and relatives outside the nuclear family seem to have no special functions. A Washo expects help from members of his nuclear family, but more distant relatives have no particular obligations.

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more distant relatives have no particular obligations. In talking with the Washo about relatives, I get no particular feeling of a group of kinfolk larger than the nuclear family. Informants will mention this relative or that one as being particularly close, but make no mention of a group of kin standing up for them against another kin group or being obligated to aid them. The modern Washo are best regarded as lacking kindreds. The earliest evidence regarding Washo social organization is Barrett's statement that "the social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit" (1917, p. 8). This is certainly true today and there is no evidence that the situation has changed since the end of the aboriginal period. [178]

MARRIAGE

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Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that polygyny was common and by no means exceptional. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says:

> In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

Lowie reports that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed. Lowie's data show a preference for the sororal form. He reports an incident in which a rancher asked a Washo why he did not have two wives. The Indian replied, "My wife has not got a sister" (Lowie, 1939, p. 309). The same preference for sororal polygyny is reported by my informants. The reason given is that strange women fight. Murdock classifies polygynous societies which are not exclusively sororal as nonsororal (1949, p. 140). I have followed his system and therefore classify aboriginal Washo marriage as nonsororal polygyny. The modern Washo have abandoned polygyny because it is forbidden by law. [178]

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Both the sororate and the levirate were formerly practiced to some degree. Lowie says that the levirate and sororate were correct but not compulsory (1939, p. 310). Curtis declares that a widow was bound to marry her husband's brother if he desired her (1926, p. 97). My informants generally agree with Lowie. The sororate and levirate are no longer followed. [178]